

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 171330Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3602

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 4074

EXDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR

DEPT PASS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, DA, AO, US

SUBJECT: FONMIN ANDERSEN'S COMMENTS ON ANGOLA

1. TWENTY-FOUR HOURS AFTER HIS RETURN FROM AFRICA AND JUST BEFORE DEPARTING AGAIN YESTERDAY EVENING (NOV 16) WITH QUEEN OF DENMARK ON A STATE VISIT TO BELGIUM, FONMIN K.B. ANDERSEN BRIEFED ME ON HIS ANGOLA TRIP. HE REMINDED ME THAT HE HAD PROMISED SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT HE WOULD KEEP HIM INFORMED IN THE EVENT THIS TRIP MATERIALIZED. HE THEREFORE WISHED TO FULFILL THIS OBLIGATION BUT ADDED THAT HE WOULD NOT WISH SOME OF THE THINGS HE IS TELLING US PASSED ON IN ANY NATO FORUM FOR REASONS WHICH ARE SELF-EVIDENT FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF THIS CABLE. IN MY JUDGMENT, ANDERSEN WAS ACCURATELY REFLECTING HIS OWN IMPRESSIONS. IT MUST BE KEPT IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT THESE WERE PROBABLY COLORED BY HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH NETO AND SUPPORT FOR THE MPLA.

2. IN THE COURSE OF HIS FOUR-DAY STAY IN ANGOLA, HE MET WITH PRESIDENT NETO, FONMIN, DOS SANTOS, SECRETARY GENERAL OF MPLA LARA, AND MINISTER FOR PLANNING AND ECONOMIC COORDINATION ROCHA. ANDERSEN'S OVERALL IMPRESSION WAS THAT THE ANGOLAN LEADERSHIP IS MORE OPEN AND PRAGMATIC IN THEIR APPROACH THAN HE HAD EXPECTED. UNLIKE THE EASTERN EUROPEANS, ANGOLANS DO NOT USE STALE COMMUNIST CLICHES. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE COURSE OF HIS THREE-HOUR CONVERSATION WITH FON-

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MIN DOS SANTOS, THE ANGOLAN DID NOT REFER ONCE TO NATO. DOS SANTOS

STRESSED THAT ANGOLA WISHED TO REMAIN NON-ALIGNED AND FONMIN ANDERSEN THOUGHT THIS WAS NOT MERELY LIP SERVICE. DOS SANTOS ASSERTED THAT ANGOLANS WILL NOT TOLERATE FOREIGN MILITARY BASES OR ENTER INTO MILITARY ALLIANCES WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES. ANGOLANS DO NOT WISH TO SWITCH FROM A PORTUGUESE MASTER TO ONE FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY. ANDERSEN RAISED THE ROLE OF THE CUBANS IN ANGOLA, BUT THOUGHT MPLA SECRETARY GENERAL LARA GIVE HIM A MORE MEANINGFUL ANSWER THAN FONMIN (PARA 6 BELOW).

3. DURING ANDERSEN'S LONG CONVERSATION WITH LARA, THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF MPLA STRESSED ANGOLAN WILLINGNESS TO WORK WITH THOSE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAD HELPED THE MPLA TO ESTABLISH ITSELF (ANDERSEN ALSO HAD KNOWN LARA FROM THE TIME HE HAD VISITED COPENHAGEN). IN THIS CONVERSATION LARA REFERRED TO THE US. ANDERSEN SAID IT WAS THE ONLY TIME THE US WAS DISCUSSED AT LENGTH DURING HIS VISIT. LARA SAID THAT HE HAD NOTED THAT DR. KISSINGER HAD GONE TO SOUTH AFRICA IN WHAT HAD BEEN BILLED AS AN EFFORT TO FIND A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM. HOWEVER, LARA INDICATED THAT THE ANGOLANS ARE CONCERNED THAT THE SECRETARY MAY ALSO BE SUPPORTING EFFORTS TO SURROUND ANGOLA WITH A KIND OF "CORDON SANITAIRE". WHEN PRESSED BY ANDERSEN ON THIS SUBJECT, LARA IMPLIED THAT THE US IS TRYING TO ISOLATE ANGOLA AND SURROUND IT WITH COUNTRIES AND FORCES UNFRIENDLY TO IT. (WHEN I ASKED ANDERSEN WHAT LARA MEANT BY THIS, ANDERSEN REPLIED THAT LARA PROBABLY WAS LOOKING AT NAMIBIA IN THE SOUTH, ZAMBIA ON THE EAST, AND ZAIRE IN THE NORTH AS COUNTRIES FRIENDLY TO THE US OR FRANCE -- BOTH OF WHICH ARE BASICALLY HOSTILE TO THE MPLA.) IN SPITE OF WHAT ANDERSEN CALLED THIS "PATHOLOGICAL FEAR" OF THE US, HE NOTED THAT LARA DID NOT UTTER A SINGLE UNCOMPLIMENTARY OR UNPLEASANT WORD ABOUT THE US. ANDERSEN CHARACTERIZED LARA AS THE TOUGHEST PRO-COMMUNIST NOW IN THE ANGOLAN LEADERSHIP GROUP.

4. ANDERSEN CLAIMED THAT HE TRIED TO DEFEND THE US BY POINTING OUT THAT THE US RECENTLY INVOLVED ITSELF DEEPLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN AN EFFORT TO FIND A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION AND THAT THE US WAS SINCERE IN THIS EFFORT. HE ADDED THAT HE TOLD LARA THAT PERHAPS SOME US ACTIONS AGAINST THE MPLA IN THE PAST MAY HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY THE LACK OF FULL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WHAT THE MPLA STOOD FOR.

5. ANDERSEN NOTED THAT WHILE LARA AND DOS SANTOS NEVER WERE DIS-  
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COURTEOUS IN TALKING ABOUT THE US, HE FOUND THE ANGOLANS WITH WHOM HE TALKED BITTER ABOUT THE ROLE FRANCE HAD PLAYED IN FIGHTING THE MPLA. LARA CLEARLY INDICATED TO ANDERSEN THAT HE THINKS THE FRENCH ARE STILL BEHIND THE FLEC MOVEMENT'S CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES IN CABINDA AND ARE ALSO PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR UNITA IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA. LARA THOUGHT THAT FRENCH AID WAS BEING CHanneled THROUGH AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IN ANDERSEN'S OPINION, THIS DEEPLY-FELT MISTRUST AND DISLIKE FOR FRANCE WILL MAKE IT MORE

DIFFICULT FOR ANGOLA TO ACCEPT A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EC, SOMETHING CONFIRMED IN A LATER DISCUSSION.

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EXDIS

6. ANDERSEN ASKED LARA ABOUT CUBAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SOLDIERS IN ANGOLA. WHILE ANDERSEN HAD NOT NOTED THEIR PRESENCE IN ANY SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS IN LUANDA, HE NEVERTHELESS FELT HE SHOULD GET THE ANGOLAN LEADERSHIP TO DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT. LARA SAID THAT ANGOLAN LEADERSHIP WOULD BE WILLING TO LET THE CUBANS GO HOME PROVIDED ANGOLA'S BORDERS WERE RESPECTED BY EVERYBODY AND THE PRESENT REGIME WOULD NOT BE CHALLENGED FROM WITHIN OR WITHOUT. BUT, SAID LARA, UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES AND EXISTING THREATS, ANGOLA "NEEDS THE CUBANS".

7 TO FONMIN DOS SANTOS, ANDERSEN CONVEYED THE MESSAGE WHICH THE EC DEPUTY COMMISSIONER HAD ENTRUSTED TO HIM AND WHICH OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY TO ANGOLA TO DISCUSS WITH THE EC THE POSSIBILITY OF ASSOCIATION WITH THE LOME CONVENTION. ANDERSEN POINTED OUT THAT NOT ALL EC COUNTRIES PURSUED THE SAME AFRICAN POLICY, SOMETHING ANGOLAN FONMIN SAID HE HAD NOTED. AS FOR POSSIBLE ASSOCIATION WITH THE LOME CONVENTION, THE ANGOLAN FONMIN REPLIED THAT IT IS TOO EARLY FOR ANGOLANS TO THINK IN TERMS OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. DOS SANTOS SAID THAT THE ANGOLANS MUST FIRST CONCENTRATE ON GETTING THEIR ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE OPERATING AGAIN AND THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH BILATERAL MEANS. THEREFORE, DOS SANTOS POLITELY DECLINED TO PURSUE THE QUESTION OF ASSOCIATION WITH THE EC. ANDERSEN COMMENTED TO ME THAT THIS WAS IN PART DUE TO THE ANGOLAN'S STRONG DISLIKE OF FRANCE, NOTED ABOVE.

8. IN DISCUSSING RHODESIA, DOS SANTOS SAID THAT THE ANGOLANS DID

NOT INSIST ON A BLACK STATE, BUT RATHER A BLACK AND WHITE COMMUNITY WHICH WOULD ACCURATELY REFLECT THE MAKEUP OF THE COUNTRY.

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DOS SANTOS ALSO STRESSED THAT THE DAR ES SALAAM CONFERENCE WAS LARGELY DEVOTED TO COPING WITH THE RESULTS OF THE RHODESIAN INCURSION INTO MOZAMBIQUE TO WIPE OUT GUERRILLA INSTALLATIONS. DOS SANTOS SAID THAT THE AFRICANS ARE TRYING TO FIND A WAY OF SUPPORTING THE RHODESIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND TO COMPENSATE FOR THE LOSSES INFLICTED BY THE RHODESIANS IN MOZAMBIQUE.

9. ANDERSEN'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NETO WAS LARGELY CEREMONIAL AND NON-POLITICAL. ANDERSEN LEFT WITH THE BELIEF THAT NETO IS NOT INTERESTED IN MOVING ANY CLOSER TO THE RUSSIANS OR THE CUBANS. WHEN ANDERSEN VISITED THE PRESIDENT OF SUDAN PRIOR TO FLYING TO ANGOLA, THE SUDANESE LEADER HAD AGREED WITH ANDERSEN THAT IT WAS A GOOD IDEA FOR A WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY TO HELP ANGOLA OUT OF ITS "POLITICAL ISOLATION". THIS HAS BEEN THE DANISH POLICY TOWARD ANGOLA, ANDERSEN EMPHASIZED.

10. ANDERSEN SAID THAT JUST PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL IN ANGOLA THE ANGOLAN MINISTER OF INTERIOR HAD BEEN DROPPED FROM HIS POSITION AND LOST HIS SEAT ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MPLA. ANDERSEN WAS CONVINCED THAT NETO, LAR AND DOS SANTOS HAVE EMERGED STRENGTHENED BY THE RECENT POWER STRUGGLE AND THEY REPRESENT THE KEY LEADERS TODAY IN ANGOLA.

11. ANDERSEN SAID THAT OLE BIERRING, DIRECTOR FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, MFA, WHO HAD ACCOMPANIED HIM DURING SOME OF THESE TALKS, WOULD BE GLAD TO GIVE ADDITIONAL DETAILS. I ACCEPTED AND HIS VERSION IS REPORTED IN SEPTTEL. ANDERSEN THEN RAN OUT TO CATCH HIS TRAIN TO BRUSSELS, BUT REQUESTED THAT I CONVEY HIS WARM PERSONAL REGARDS TO THE SECRETARY.

DEAN

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